

BT
764
.R33

REES—The doctrine
in the Angli

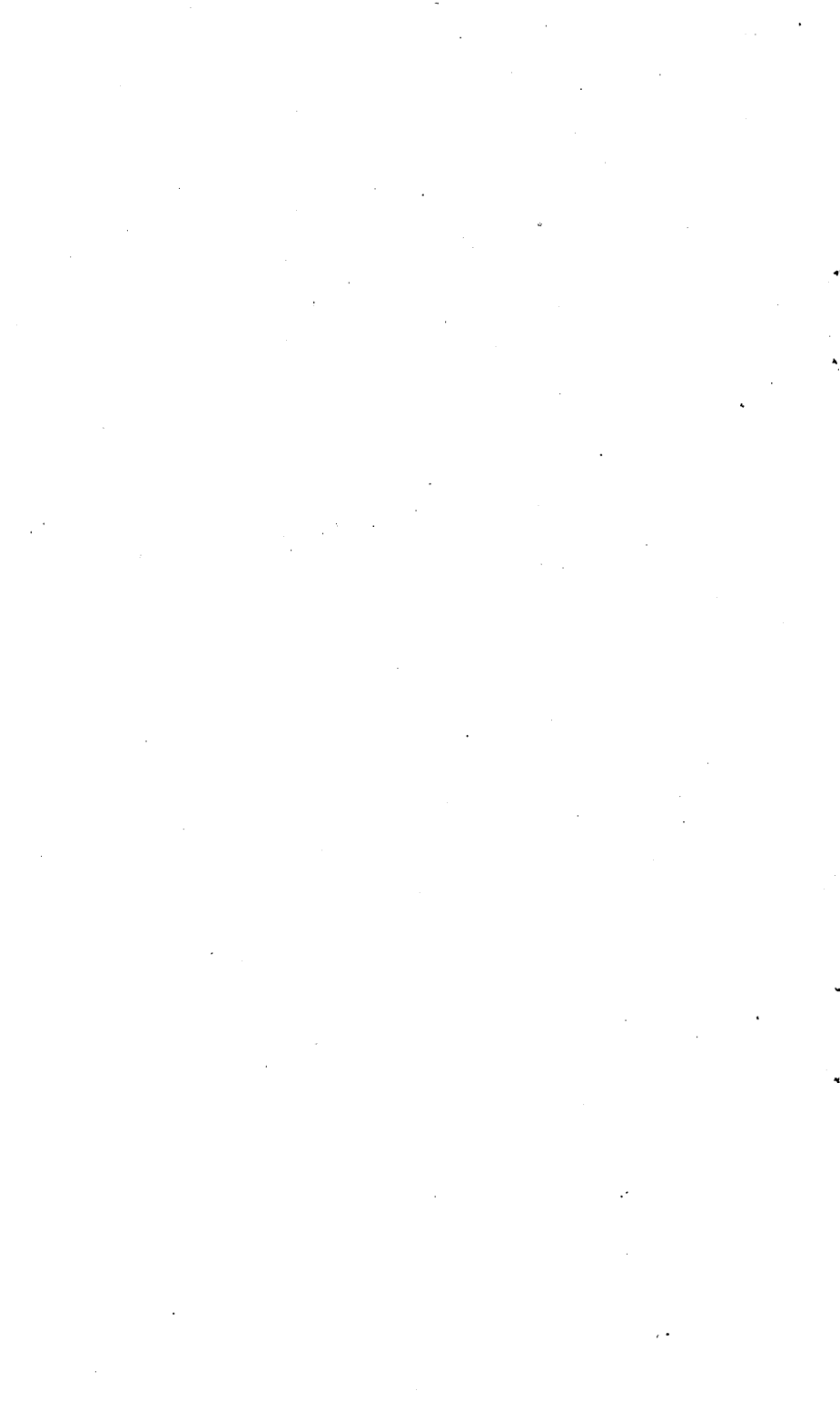
rine of justification
nglican reformers

The University of Chicago
Library



THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IN THE ANGLICAN REFORMERS

BY THE REV D
A. H. REES, M.A.
MINOR CANON OF ST. PAUL'S



THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IN THE ANGLICAN REFORMERS

BY

THE REVD A. H. REES, M.A.

MINOR CANON OF ST. PAUL'S

LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

BT 764
R 33

First published 1939



Made in Great Britain

1939

THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IN THE ANGLICAN REFORMERS

THE years from the date of the separation of the Anglican Church from the communion of Rome by Henry VIII to that of the publication of the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, in which Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, were critical in the history of the Church of England. During the whole of this time her future seemed to hang in the balance. Was she to retain her Catholic character or take her place among the newly formed religious bodies that were emerging from the welter of the Continental Reformation? Her continuity of doctrine and ministry seemed gravely threatened, not only by the accidents of history, but by the deliberate policy of princes.

In treating of Anglican teaching on Justification we shall therefore confine ourselves roughly to the period between the breach with Rome in 1534 and the second promulgation of the XXXIX Articles in 1571, when subscription to them was for the first time required from all the clergy. Our main object will be to interpret the official formularies of the Church by reference to other contemporary writings, and especially to the works of those divines who, by the part assigned to them in framing or revising the formularies, would appear to be specially qualified to interpret them in accordance with the mind of the Church.

The subject of Justification had not come into dispute before the Reformation. No Council before Trent had dealt with it, and Trent itself was not

concluded before 1563, nor was the Bull confirming its decrees published before the beginning of the following year, by which time the framing and revision of the Book of Common Prayer had already been carried out and the XXXIX Articles had been promulgated by ecclesiastical authority. So far had the doctrine been neglected in the current teaching of the Church that when Cardinal Contarini published his treatise on Justification he was congratulated by Cardinal Pole on having "brought to light the jewel which the Church kept half-concealed."¹ It is noteworthy that the word "justification" only occurs once in the Book of Common Prayer—namely, in the Collect provided for the First Sunday after Easter. For this reason, light on the mind of the Anglican Church will have to be sought as much from her teaching on Grace and the Sacraments as from that on the subject of Justification itself, on which her official pronouncements are meagre as contrasted with both Tridentine and Protestant formularies.

I

This is especially true in regard to the process of justification itself. For Luther, the *actus justificationis* is the external pronouncement by God of the sinner's justification. Both for him and for Calvin it does not free the sinner from sin but only from its penalties. It is a declaration of acquittal. Trent, on the other hand, teaches that justification is "the transference from that state in which man is born the son of Adam to the state of grace and adoption of the sons of God, through the second Adam, Jesus Christ our Saviour,"² and that this transference is a real transformation, by which "we are not only re-

¹ *Epistolæ*, ed. Quirini, tom. iii, p. 57; quoted Ranke, *History of the Popes*, book ii, § 1.

² Sess. vi, cap. 4.

puted, but are truly called just, and are so.”¹ When we turn to the XIth Article of Religion, entitled *Of the Justification of Man*, we find that it is concerned with certain causes of justification rather than with the *actus justificationis*, which, in the Latin version more markedly than in the English, occupies a secondary place. *Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi per Fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra justi coram Deo reputamur. Quare sola fide nos justificari doctrina est saluberrima ac consolationis plenissima, ut in Homilia de Justificatione hominis fusius explicatur.* There being no Homily of Justification expressly so called, the Article is commonly thought to refer to the Third Homily of the First Book, *Of the Salvation of Mankind*, written by Cranmer and published with the rest of the Book by royal authority in 1547.

This Homily defines justification as “the forgiveness of man’s sins and trespasses in such things as he hath offended,” and continues: “And this justification or righteousness, which we so receive by God’s mercy and Christ’s merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God for our perfect and full justification.”² The language here is ambiguous, and the definition is insufficient compared with previous pronouncements of the Church of England on the matter. The *Ten Articles* of 1536 and the *Institution of a Christian Man* (the *Bishops’ Book*) of 1537, both put out by royal authority, had contained sections on Justification in which they agreed in defining it as “the remission of our sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God—that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.” In 1543, after the visit of the Lutheran divines to England

¹ Sess. vi, cap. 7.

² *Homilies*, ed. Oxford, 1859, p. 24. All quotations from the Homilies are from this edition.

and as a direct corrective to the doctrinal confusion which had followed the royal injunction of 1538 setting up the Bible in English in the parish churches, a further statement of doctrine was published, this time with the authority of both Convocations, and entitled *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. This work, commonly known as the *King's Book*, dealt more fully with the doctrine of Justification, laying it down that "this word *justification*, as it is taken in scripture, signifieth the making of us righteous afore God, where before we were unrighteous, as when by his grace we convert unto him, and be reconciled into his favour, and of the children of ire and damnation, we be made the children of God, and inheritors of everlasting life, that by his grace we may walk so in his ways, that finally we may be reputed and taken as just and righteous in the day of judgment, and so receive the everlasting possession of the kingdom of heaven." There follows the same distinction between the first and the final justification that was drawn during the debate on the subject at Trent, though eventually ignored in the decree. On the appearance of the First Book of Homilies, Stephen Gardiner objected to its teaching on Justification as inconsistent with that of the *King's Book*, in which he had a hand and the authority of which was still recognized and has, indeed, never since been invalidated. It will be clear that the description of the *actus justificationis* given in the Homily, if incomplete, is not inconsistent with that given in the *King's Book*. For righteousness is said to be "received" by man and not merely imputed to him (the word "impute," so characteristic of Protestant doctrine, is never used in the Homily of the process of justification), while the phrase "perfect and full justification" does not necessarily mean final justification, the distinction between the first

and second justification being ignored. Moreover, the phrase "after that we are baptized or justified," occurring in the third part of the Homily,¹ indicates that justification may be effected through Baptism, which is also the teaching of a *Sermon on Baptism* which Cranmer set forth in the first edition of his Catechism in 1548, just after the publication of the Homily and before that of the First Prayer Book. The Sermon is not Cranmer's own, but the following passages illustrate his view of justification by Baptism: "By Baptism the whole righteousness of Christ is given unto us that we may claim the same as our own";² "in Baptism the righteousness of Christ is given and imputed to him";³ "he is made partaker of Christ's righteousness";⁴ and the writer translates Tit. iii, 7: "that we being made righteous by his grace" (A.V. justified).⁵

The Lutheran doctrine of Justification is expounded in the early Reformation period by Tyndale and Hooper. For both, justification is simply the forgiveness of sins. In *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Tyndale says expressly: "By justifying, understand the forgiveness of sins and the favour of God."⁶ "If thou repent and believe the promises, then God's truth justifieth thee: that is, forgiveth thee thy sins and sealeth thee with his holy Spirit and maketh thee heir of everlasting life, through Christ's deservings."⁷ "When I say, God justifieth us, understand thereby, that God for Christ's sake, merits and deservings only, receiveth us unto his mercy, favour and grace and forgiveth us our sins. And when I say, Christ justifieth us, understand thereby, that Christ only hath

¹ *Homilies*, p. 33.

² Ed. 1548, fol. 218.

³ *Id.*, fol. 220.

⁴ *Id.*, fol. 221.

⁵ *Id.*, fol. 222.

⁶ *Works*, ed. Parker Soc., vol. i, p. 192. All references to the works of Reformation divines are to the Parker Society edition, unless otherwise noted.

⁷ *Id.*, p. 262.

redeemed us, bought and delivered us out of the wrath of God and damnation, and hath with his works only purchased us the mercy, the favour and grace of God and the forgiveness of our sins. And when I say that faith justifieth, understand thereby that faith and trust in the truth of God and in the mercy promised us for Christ's sake, and for his deserving and works only, doth quiet the conscience and certify her that our sins be forgiven and we in the favour of God."¹ We note in this passage the typical Protestant view of justification, faith and grace. Elsewhere Tyndale expressly denies justification through Baptism.² *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was published in 1528; in 1547, the year in which the First Book of Homilies appeared, Bishop Hooper, one of the extremists of Edward VI's reign, published *A Declaration of Christ and His Office*, of which the section devoted to Justification interprets it as the imputation to the sinner of Christ's merits by which he obtains remission of sin and is accepted into the favour of God.³ There is one ambiguous sentence which may mean something more than imputation—"And this his justice and perfection he imputeth and communicateth with us by faith"⁴—but it stands alone, and there is nowhere else any hint of a real imparting of righteousness.

A different doctrine is taught by John Bradford, who was burnt as a heretic under Mary in 1555. In his *Treatise of Election and Free Will* he writes that justification "precedeth regeneration, from whom we may discern it, but not divide it, no more than heat from the fire."⁵ And a *Declaration concerning Religion*, to which Bradford put his name while in prison awaiting his trial, speaks of an "inherent righteousness; which is to be discerned in the article of justification

¹ *Id.*, pp. 508, 509.

³ *Works*, vol. i, pp. 50 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 51.

² *Works*, vol. ii, p. 91.

⁵ *Works*, vol. i, p. 217.

from the righteousness which God endueth us withal in justifying us, although inseparably they go together."¹

Some nine years later Thomas Becon, the friend and chaplain of Cranmer, published *The Demands of Holy Scripture* (1563). He writes: "To be justified is to have our sins not imputed unto us, but to have them forgiven in Christ and for Christ. . . . Now because the faithful man only receiveth and enjoyeth this mercy, forgiveness, and this no imputing of sin through faith, therefore he is called just, and we through faith said to be justified."² In the second part of the work, however, he writes: "What is justification? Of unrighteous to be made righteous by the righteousnesses of Christ, which we conceive by faith."³ Though this last phrase is ambiguous, the phrase "to be made righteous" indicates an approximation to the Catholic doctrine of Justification, towards which a reaction had set in by this time. The Anglican Church was seeing her way through the mists of controversy to a statement of her own doctrinal position.

In 1562 the XXXIX Articles were promulgated for the first time, and the Article on Justification received its present form. In its original form it had read as follows: "Justification by only faith in Jesus Christ, in that sense as it is declared in the homily of Justification, is a most certain and wholesome doctrine for Christian men."⁴ It will be seen that the revised form makes no attempt to define more narrowly what happens in justification, but shifts the emphasis from the assertion of Justification by Faith only, which becomes a sort of *coda* to the main statement of the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ.

¹ *Id.*, p. 372.

² *Works*, vol. iii, p. 603.

³ *Id.*, p. 616.

⁴ Latin version: *Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in Homilia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina.*

In the same year the Second Book of Homilies was put forth by civil authority, and in it is found a more explicit statement of the real change effected by justification. The Homily for Rogation Week says: "To justify a sinner, to new create him from a wicked person to a righteous man, is a greater act, saith St Augustine, than to make such a new heaven and earth as is already made."¹ The Homily of the Resurrection, commenting at length on the words of St Paul, "He died for our sins and rose again for our justification," repeatedly speaks of our being "endowed" and "replenished" with righteousness.

II

Turning to the causes of justification, we find that in Article XI alone two distinct causes are mentioned—viz., the merits of Christ, and faith; while Article XXVII speaks of Baptism as an "instrument" of our regeneration, and, as we have already seen, the Homily of Salvation treats Baptism as a means of justification. Other causes of justification mentioned in these documents are God's mercy, Christ's justice, and Christ's Death and Resurrection. It is therefore necessary to make some distinctions.

Article XI, in its Latin form, places the merit of Christ in the foreground. It is on account of (*propter*) this, through (*per*) faith, not on account of our own works and merits, that we are reckoned just before God. This is an expansion of the original Article framed by Cranmer. On a comparison of the two forms the purpose of the change seems to be twofold: to avoid committing the Church to the exact sense of the Homily, and to assert the primary office of the merits of Christ in the work of justification.

The latter assertion was an urgent necessity of the times. In the teaching of the Schoolmen of the late

¹ *Homilies*, pp. 474-5.

Middle Ages there had been Pelagian tendencies, which both the Anglican Reformers and the Council of Trent were concerned to repudiate. It is remarkable that in spite of the urgent danger of the Lutheran heresy on the sole office of faith in the process of justification, the first three canons appended to the Tridentine decree on Justification deal, not with the errors of Luther, but with the opposite error of Pelagianism. The Council had heard the Franciscans defend the current saying, *Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam*, in reference to the reception of the first grace; some went further and asserted that if God were not to give grace to such a one He would be unjust and partial. Such a position was in harmony with the mild doctrine held by the Franciscans of the Fall and Original Sin, which for Scotus meant nothing more than the lack of original righteousness, entailing no positive depravation of human nature. It appears from the proceedings of the Council of Trent¹ that a semi-Pelagian conception of Original Sin was characteristic of the celebrated theologian Albertus Pighius, who from the prominent part assigned him in the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541 might well be considered to be representative of contemporary Catholic teaching. In the eighth book of his *De libero hominis arbitrio*, published in the following year, he had so far emphasized the freedom of the human will as to do less than justice to the sovereignty of God. The tendency of such teaching was to deny the gratuitous character of divine grace, and theologians of this school had held that even the reception of the first grace in the soul could be merited *de congruo* by the man who does "quod in se est." Gabriel Biel, among others, upheld this view,² which

¹ Theiner, *Acta genuina SS. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini*, ed. 1874, tom. i, p. 139.

² *In Sent.* II, dist. xxvii.

had also been maintained by Scotus and Bonaventura. The XIIIth Article of Religion denies that works done before the grace of Christ merit grace *de congruo*, a notion which the Dominicans at Trent also attacked as Pelagian, urging that the expression "congruous merit" should be avoided as giving needless scandal to the heretics. Ultimately the Council, while carefully avoiding scholastic terms in this as in other decrees, laid it down that (1) man cannot be justified by his natural powers or by obedience to the law apart from divine grace through Jesus Christ (canon 1); and that (2) man's justification begins with prevenient grace apart from previous merit (canon 3, cap. 5). So marked was the reaction from the semi-Pelagian teaching that had been characteristic of the Nominalist Schoolmen that Stapleton in his treatise on Justification, written in 1582, could say: *Nam illud meritum de congruo respectu primæ gratiæ iam ex scholis Catholicis pæne explosum est.*¹

The only meritorious cause, then, of our justification is stated both by Article XI and by the decree of Trent to be Christ—*i.e.*, His Passion, Death and Resurrection. And with this doctrine agree the writings of the Anglican Reformers. The Homily on Salvation, while speaking of three things necessary for justification—God's mercy, Christ's justice, and our faith—expressly states that the saying "that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands; . . . and thereby wholly for to ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding".² The third part of the same Homily teaches that even faith does not *merit* justification, "Christ himself only

¹ *De universa justificationis doctrina*, l. viii, c. 16.

² *Homilies*, pp. 29, 30.

being the cause meritorious thereof.”¹ Nowell’s Catechism, published in 1570, also repudiates the idea that faith merits justification in a passage which is worth quoting at length for the distinction it draws between the various causes of justification: “*Master*. Dost not thou then say that faith is the principal cause of this justification, so as by the merit of faith we are counted righteous before God? *Scholar*. No; for that were to set faith in the place of Christ. But the spring-head of this justification is the mercy of God, which is conveyed to us by Christ, and is offered to us by the gospel, and received of us by faith as with a hand. *Master*. Thou sayest then that faith is not the cause but the instrument of justification; for that it embraceth Christ, which is our justification.”² The divines of the Reformation period are unanimous in speaking of the mercy of God as the efficient cause of justification, and the glory of God is also named, though not so prominently, as the final cause.³

III

The Latin form of Article XI makes it clear that there is no direct contrast made between faith and works in the office of justifying, but rather between our works and merits and the merit of Christ, on account of (*propter*) which we are said to be reckoned as just before God, through (*per*) faith. The *coda* to the Article speaks of “*justificatio sola fide*” (the 1553 version said “*ex sola fide*”)⁴ as a most salutary doctrine. In what sense is “faith only” said to justify?

The phrase itself has Patristic authority. Origen, commenting on the Epistle to the Romans, writes:

¹ *Id.*, p. 32.

² *Works*, p. 180.

³ Cf. Bradford, *Works*, vol. i, p. 314.

⁴ It is worth noting that at Trent Fanensis asserted that we should speak of justification “*per fidem, non ex fide*” (Theiner, *op. cit.*, tom. i, p. 174).

“He says that the justification of faith alone is enough in the sense that a man is justified by only believing, even though he may have performed no work,”¹ and he then cites the example of the penitent thief, which is a favourite instance with the Anglican Reformers. St Basil, in his Homily on Humility, quoting 1 Cor. i, 31, *He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord*, says: “For this is complete and entire glorying in God, when a man does not vaunt his own justice, but knows himself to be destitute of true justice and to have been justified by faith alone in Christ.”² Theodoret also writes: “For not by praiseworthy works but by faith alone have we obtained the mystic blessings.”³ St Chrysostom, expounding Gal. iii, 8, says: “He shows that he who relies on faith alone is blessed,”⁴ and St Gregory Nazianzen writes in his 32nd *Oration*: “What is more concise than this treasure? What is easier to obtain than this gift? Confess Jesus Christ and believe that he is risen from the dead, and thou shalt be saved. For righteousness is only believing; but complete salvation is to confess also, and to add to thy knowledge boldness of speech.”⁵

Article XI, by its use of the preposition *per*, makes it clear that faith is an instrumental cause of justification, and the Second Homily of the Passion describes faith as the “only mean and instrument of salvation . . . a sure trust and confidence in the mercies of God: whereby we persuade ourselves, that God both hath, and will forgive our sins.”⁶ This definition approaches the Lutheran conception of fiduciary faith; but elsewhere in the Homilies faith is spoken of as “the root and well-spring of all newness of life,”⁷ a phrase reminiscent of the Tridentine decree which speaks of faith as the “beginning of man’s salvation,

¹ M.P.G., xiv, 952, 955.

³ M.P.G., lxxxiii, 1001.

⁵ M.P.G., xxxvi, 204.

² M.P.G., xxxi, 529.

⁴ M.P.G., lxi, 651.

⁶ *Homilies*, p. 427.

⁷ *Id.*, p. 452.

the foundation and root of all justification.”¹ The third part of the Homily of Salvation speaks more fully: “Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins, and that by faith given us of God we embrace the promise of God’s mercy, and of the remission of our sins, which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doeth—therefore Scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify. And, forasmuch as it is all one sentence in effect to say, Faith without works, and, Only faith, doth justify us, therefore the old ancient fathers of the Church from time to time have uttered our justification with this speech, Only faith justifieth us; meaning none other thing than St Paul meant when he said, Faith without works justifieth us. And because all this is brought to pass through the only merits and deservings of our Saviour Christ, and not through our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us, therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we forsake as it were altogether again faith, works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of original sin, that all is imperfect that is within us, faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works, and therefore not apt to merit and deserve any part of our justification for us.”² Here faith is regarded as an instrumental cause in the sense of a cause disposing us to receive justification. In general, faith is said to “embrace”³ justification; it is a “taking sure hold” upon the mercy of God;⁴ by it “we do apprehend and take hold upon the promises of God”⁵ and “apply the fruits and merits of Christ’s death unto us.”⁶ This last phrase might be pressed so far as to deny the necessity of Sacraments, a con-

¹ Sess. vi, cap. 8.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 534.

² *Homilies*, pp. 32, 33.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 541.

³ *Id.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 428.

clusion which seems to be drawn later in the Homily concerning the Sacrament: "Herein thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing priest, no mass, no means established by man's invention."¹ The concluding phrase, however, supplies the key to the interpretation of this passage. Sacraments are repudiated in so far as they are "man's invention"; but in so far as they are the acts of God (*cf.* Article XXV) they are no less instrumental causes of justification than faith. Baptism is spoken of in Article XXVII as an instrument of regeneration, and the distinction between Faith and the Sacraments in the work of justification seems to be, according to the divines of this period, that the Sacraments are instrumental causes conferring justification, while Faith is an instrumental cause receiving it.

This description of the operation of faith is similar to that given at Trent by the Dominican Petrus Bertanus (Fanensis), who said: "By faith we lay hold upon the merit of Christ."² The expression did not please all the Fathers, but the General of the Dominicans approved of it, though he deprecated its use on account of the heretical twist that could easily be given to it. The General of the Augustinians also defended the phrase, adding: "We are said to be justified by faith, because faith comes first not only in disposing towards justification, but in justification itself; and I agree with the phrase used by Fanensis, which could be aptly inserted in the decree—namely, that through faith we lay hold upon the righteousness of Christ; nor do I dissent from the words used by the General of the Dominicans. We are said to be justified through faith for the reason that works which precede faith are excluded from justification."³

¹ *Id.*, p. 444.² Theiner, *op. cit.*, tom. i, p. 337.³ *Id.*, p. 338.

The decree of the Council states that perfect faith can justify even before, or without, the reception of the Sacraments of Baptism or Penance, provided there is the desire to receive them,¹ and chapter vii of the decree attempts to combine the two causes by stating that the instrumental cause of justification is the Sacrament of Baptism, *quod est sacramentum fidei, sine qua nulli unquam contigit justificatio*. Article XXVII has already been quoted, and with it agrees not only the rubric at the end of the Baptismal Office in the Book of Common Prayer, which states that "children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved," but also the teaching of the Homilies, which speak of Baptism as "the fountain of our regeneration"² and as effectual, by virtue of Christ's sacrifice, to save even those who die in infancy.³ Moreover, it is clear from Article XVI, *Of Sin after Baptism*, that the justification effected by Baptism is held to involve a real change, the removal of both original and actual sin, in contrast to Lutheran and Calvinist teaching.

Of faith as the instrumental cause of justification Tyndale writes: "And when I say, faith justifieth, the understanding is, that faith receiveth the justifying. God promiseth to forgive us our sins and to impute us for full righteous. And God justifieth us actively: that is to say, forgiveth us, and reckoneth us for full righteous. And Christ's blood deserveth it; and faith in the promise receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof."⁴ So Nowell in the passage from his Catechism already quoted compares faith to the hand outstretched by man to receive the righteousness of God.

The divergence between the language of Trent and

¹ Sess. vi, cap. 4.

³ *Id.*, p. 24.

² *Homilies*, p. 276.

⁴ *Works*, vol. ii, p. 89.

that of the Anglican divines is partly to be traced to the distinction, not always clearly formulated, between the first and second justification. As we have seen, the distinction found no place in the decree of the Council, but it seems to have been in the minds of the Fathers in the discussion on Faith. They laid it down that faith is "the beginning of man's salvation, the foundation and root of all justification," but they never speak of faith justifying, though, as we have seen, it is said to be a condition *sine qua non* of justification. Luther spoke of faith as justifying in the second sense of the word—*i.e.*, as effecting man's final justification, for which, according to his teaching, works were of no avail. The Fathers of Trent avoided the ambiguity of the word "justification" altogether in their decree.

Much confusion in the controversies of the time would have been avoided had the word "justification" been confined in meaning to the first justification, and the word "sanctification" used for the second. Tyndale, in his *Answer to More*, writes: "And when M. More is come to himself and saith, The first faith and the first justifying is given us without our deserving, God be thanked, and I would fain that he would describe me what he meaneth by the second justifying. I know no more to do than, when I have received all mercy and all forgiveness of Christ freely, to go and pour out the same upon my neighbour."¹ So Cranmer in his *Notes on Justification* writes: "St James meant of justification in another sense, when he said, A man is justified by works and not by faith only. For he spake of such a justification which is a declaration, continuation and increase of that justification which St Paul spake of before."² The writer of the *Sermon of the Communion or the Lord's Supper*, which Cranmer published with his Catechism,

¹ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 203.

² *Works*, vol. ii, p. 208.

draws a distinction between justification and final salvation: "If we will be justified and saved, it is not enough to be planted in Christ, but we must also abide and continue in him";¹ while the Homily on Holy Scripture speaks of truths "necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation."²

IV

What is the nature of justifying faith? The *King's Book*, written after the visit of the Lutheran divines to England, prefaced the statement of Christian doctrine with an article on Faith which distinguished two senses of the word, "the faith of knowledge" and "the effectual faith that worketh by charity," and thus excluded the Lutheran conception of faith as a sentiment of confidence without rational preamble or practical fruit. The XXXIX Articles give no definition of faith, but the Homilies, though at times approaching the notion of fiduciary faith, in general make it clear that justifying faith must be dogmatic faith and a faith that worketh by love. The Homily on Holy Scripture, for example, states in the passage quoted above that from Scripture may be drawn every "truth or doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation"; and elsewhere it is assumed that justifying faith must in the first place be belief in the existence of God and the truths of Revelation. The Homily on Faith quotes Heb. xi, and goes on to say: "The very sure and lively Christian faith is not only to believe all things of God that are contained in holy Scripture, but also is an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he doth regard us, and that he is careful over us, as the father is over the child whom he doth love, and that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake; and that we have our Saviour Christ,

¹ Ed. 1548, fol. 232.

² *Homilies*, p. 7.

our perpetual Advocate and Priest.”¹ The Homily on Salvation teaches that justifying faith includes other virtues: “That faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether. Nor that faith also doth not shut out the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterwards of duty towards God . . . but it excludeth them so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good by doing of them.”² “Nevertheless, this sentence, that we be justified by faith only, is not so meant of them, that the said justifying faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and fear of God, at any time or season.”³ The same Homily contrasts the faith of devils with “the right and true Christian faith,” which is “not only to believe that holy Scripture and all the fore-said articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God’s merciful promises to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ: whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments.”⁴ These passages describe substantially the same process of preparation for justification which is described by Trent in chapter vi of the decree—viz., belief in God’s promises, fear of God’s justice, hope and trust in His mercy, love of His goodness, hatred of sin, penitence, resolve to keep God’s commandments, and finally Baptism.

Tyndale writes: “If you say, Seeing faith, love and hope be three virtues inseparable, *ergo*, faith only justifieth not; I answer, though they be inseparable, yet they have separate and sundry

¹ *Id.*, p. 38.² *Id.*, p. 26.³ *Id.*, p. 29.⁴ *Id.*, p. 34.

offices . . . as heat and dryth, being inseparable in the fire, have yet their separable operations. For the dryth only expelleth the moistness of all that is consumed by the fire; and heat only destroyeth the coldness. For dryth and cold may stand together and so may heat and moistness. It is not all one to say, the dryth only, and the dryth that is alone; nor all one to say, faith only, and faith that is alone."¹ So Bradford defines justifying faith as "not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man; where-through, as the mind is illumined, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so showeth forth an inherent righteousness."²

V

In contrast to the excessive reaction from Pelagianism which marked much of the Reformation, Anglican formularies and divines emphasize the importance of works in the Christian life. Faith, if it is to justify, must be of the kind that produces works. It is of the very nature of justifying faith to be attended by works. Thus the Homily of Salvation, as already quoted, says that from justifying faith in God "doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments," and the Homily of Faith says that this faith "is not without hope and trust in God, nor without the love of God and of our neighbours, nor without the fear of God, nor without the desire to hear God's word, and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all good works."³ Such a faith "is lively and fruitful in bringing forth good works," and "without it can no good works be done, that shall be acceptable and pleasant to God."⁴ So the Homily of Faith concludes with the statement that by our good works

¹ *Works*, vol. ii, pp. 14, 15.

³ *Homilies*, p. 37.

² *Works*, vol. i, p. 371.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 38.

we declare our faith to be true and living Christian faith, not merely the faith of devils. This agrees with the statement of Article XII, *Of Good Works*, which declares that good works "do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith." This Article had no place in the original XLII Articles, and was inserted for the first time when the Articles received ecclesiastical authority in 1562, in order to counteract the Antinomian effects of Calvinism, which by then had begun to exert a considerable influence within the Church of England. Even the extreme Protestant Bishop Hooper, while commending in 1547 the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, uses severe language towards those who interpret it in an Antinomian sense: "Our new evangelists have another opinion; they dream of faith that justifieth, the which neither repentance precedeth, neither honesty of life followeth; which shall be to their double damnation, if they amend not."¹ The Homily on Fasting quotes St Augustine: "No man doeth good works to receive grace by his good works; but, because he hath first received grace, therefore consequently he doeth good works."² Nor are such works a barren appendage to faith; they have their effect both towards God and towards man's final justification. The same Homily says, "Fasting thus used with prayer is of great efficacy and weigheth much with God,"³ while the Homily of Alms-deeds says, "Merciful almsdealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin."⁴

Anglican divines are unanimous in teaching that justifying faith must of its nature be accompanied by works, and in the rare cases where the terminology of first and second justification is employed, works are held to play a part in the latter. Tyndale, in his

¹ *Works*, vol. i, p. 33.

³ *Id.*, p. 294.

² *Homilies*, p. 279.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 389.

Parable of the Wicked Mammon (published in 1527), writes: "Thou canst never know or be sure of thy faith, but by the works,"¹ and in his *Exposition of Matthew v, vi, vii* (published in 1532), he writes: "Now at the first covenant-making with God and as oft as we be reconciled after we have sinned the righteousness cometh of God altogether. But after the atonement is made and we reconciled, then we be partly righteous in ourselves and unrighteous; righteous as far as we love, and unrighteous as far as the love is imperfect."² So Coverdale, in his *Confutation of the Treatise of John Standish*, asserts that those who will not do good works because faith alone justifies are not the children of God nor children of justification.³

At the close of the Reformation period, Jewel, in his *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England* (1568), maintains that the only true faith is that which is "lively and workful; and that an idle faith is indeed no faith at all."⁴ He quotes, among others, St Augustine: *Inseparabilis est . . . bona vita a fide quæ per dilectionem operatur*; and Nicolas Cusanus: *Non potest mens scire Deum, et non diligere; . . . non potest esse vera scientia Dei, ubi non est caritas*. And Fulke, writing in 1583, says: "That christian men ought with all diligent labour to excel in good works, it is always acknowledged of us, although they must not look to be saved by their works, no, nor by their faith only, if their faith be not fruitful of good works."⁵ The Homilies on Salvation and on Faith emphasize the teaching that justification gives no liberty to sin, and Jewel, in his *Defence of the Apology*, maintains that those who oppose the teaching of St Paul to that of St James show that they understand neither.

¹ *Works*, vol. i, p. 60.

³ *Works*, vol. ii, p. 341.

⁵ *Works*, vol. i, p. 449.

² *Id.*, vol. ii, p. 90.

⁴ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 584.

“It is easy to see that St Paul speaketh of one kind of works and St James of another; and again: St Paul of one kind of justification and St James of another.”¹

VI

As to the qualities of justification, Anglican writers of this period are agreed in opposing the Lutheran teaching that it is equal in everyone. The Collect for the 14th Sunday after Trinity asks for an “increase in faith, hope and charity,”² and with this may be compared the prayer recited by the Bishop in administering Confirmation: “that he may daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more.” Other passages might be cited from Anglican formularies teaching the same doctrine.

Tyndale, in his *Prologue to the Prophet Jonas* (1531), speaks of some who “exceed in gifts of grace,”³ and elsewhere he defines grace as “the favour of God, and also the gifts and working of his Spirit in us.”⁴ In his *Prologue to the Romans*, however, he contrasts grace and gifts; the former, he says, does not increase like the latter.⁵ Bradford, in his *Treatise of Election and Free Will*, writes: “Which work” (of justification and regeneration), “in respect of us and our imperfection and falls, in that it is not so full and perfect but it may be more and more, therefore by the Spirit of sanctification (which we receive in regeneration as the seed of God) we are quickened to labour with the Lord and to be more justified; that is, by faith and the fruits of faith, to ourselves and others to declare the same; and so to increase from virtue to virtue, from glory to glory, having always need to have our feet washed, although we be clean not-

¹ *Works*, vol. iv, p. 765.

² The Latin collect is quoted in the Tridentine decree, cap. 10.

³ *Works*, vol. i, p. 446.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 286.

⁵ *Id.*, pp. 491, 492.

withstanding.”¹ The same doctrine is taught in the *Sermon of our Sanctification*, included by Cranmer in his Catechism of 1548: “Also this Holy Ghost doth daily more and more increase and establish our faith.”² At the close of the Reformation period, Bishop Sandys, in a sermon preached at Paul’s Cross on his entering upon possession of the See of London in 1570, said: “So it is with all the graces and gifts of God: they grow in the hands of him that spendeth.”³

Nevertheless, no one can be certain of his own final justification, for justifying grace may be lost. This is the teaching of the XVIth Article of Religion, *Of Sin after Baptism*, and of the prayer in the Burial Service—“Suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from thee”—and it can be paralleled from many other passages in Anglican formularies.

Latimer, in a sermon preached on Advent Sunday, 1552, speaks of those who “be not come yet to Christ, or if they were come to Christ be fallen again from him and so lost their justification (as there be many of us, which when we fall willingly into sin against conscience, we lose the favour of God, our salvation, and finally the Holy Ghost).”⁴ Again, he says in another sermon: “I do not put you in comfort that if ye have once the Spirit ye cannot lose it.”⁵ The *Sermon of our Sanctification*, published by Cranmer and quoted above, says: “The Holy Ghost, as he hath begun these things in us, so he will finish the same in us if we obey him and continue in faith unto the end of our lives; for he that continueth unto the end shall be saved.”⁶

¹ *Works*, vol. i, p. 218.

³ *Works*, p. 345.

⁵ *Id.*, vol. i, p. 229.

² Ed. 1548, fol. 137.

⁴ *Works*, vol. ii, p. 7.

⁶ Ed. 1548, fol. 143.

VII

To sum up: The notion of justification as the mere non-imputation of sin is taught in the earliest period, notably by Tyndale and Hooper, neither of whom, however, can be regarded as representative. Hooper was an extremist even for the chaotic Edwardian period, while Tyndale's opinions were regarded in England as too revolutionary to allow his translation of the New Testament more than a brief popularity. "His heterodoxies," wrote Collier, "are too visible to reckon him amongst the reformers of the English Church."¹ A fuller notion of the process of justification is found in Bradford's teaching of an inherent righteousness, which is the result of regeneration and the inseparable concomitant of the imputed righteousness of justification. By the date of the promulgation of the XXXIX Articles, this view had been supplemented with the doctrine of imparted righteousness, which is fully expressed in the Second Book of Homilies, though the Calvinism represented by Archbishop Sandys still persisted: "He took our unrighteousness upon him and clothed us with his justice."² This, however, could not long endure in face of the Catholic teaching of the Prayer Book and Articles on Grace, which replaced the defective doctrine of the earlier Reformers. For them grace is a disposition on the part of God, and there is no mention of it as the formal cause of justification; in the official formularies it is a substantial endowment of the soul of man. Illustrations of this are too numerous to need quotation; they are to be found not only in the Daily Offices, the Baptismal Rite, the Collects and the Catechism of the Prayer Book proper, but also in the Ordinal and the Articles of Religion.

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Lathbury, 1852, vol. iv, p. 203.

² *Works*, p. 290.

In the writings of the Reformation divines, God is always regarded as the efficient cause, Christ's Passion as the meritorious cause, of justification, the latter cause being especially stressed in protest against the semi-Pelagianism of the Nominalist Schoolmen. Faith is an instrumental cause, and its place is sometimes so magnified as to seem to exclude the Sacraments. This would appear to be due to an insufficient recognition of the Sacraments as God's work in us, of which Faith is our subjective apprehension. This deficiency is made good by the teaching of the Catechism on the necessity of the Sacraments to salvation, and of the XXVth Article of Religion on the Sacraments as "effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us."¹

Faith is almost invariably described by the divines of this period as a belief in truths and promises revealed by God and as inseparably linked with hope and charity. The distinction between the first and second justification is not made by earlier writers, but it becomes clearer later. Works are not contrasted with faith, but with the merits of Christ; and justifying faith is always said to be of the kind that necessarily produces works. The latter are effective in promoting the second justification, but incapable of meriting the first.

Finally, in contrast to the Lutheran doctrine that justification is equal in all and can only be forfeited by loss of faith, the Anglican Reformation divines teach that justification is not equal in everyone, but may be increased in some and forfeited by sin in others.

¹ Latin version: *efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur.*

VIII

In 1562, the year before that of the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the XXXIX Articles were for the first time promulgated by ecclesiastical authority. The specific doctrines of Luther, which had never had more than a precarious foothold in the Church of England, were excluded from the Articles dealing with Justification, Works before Justification, and Sin after Baptism; and when the Articles were reimposed in 1571 and subscription to them required for the first time from all clergy, Convocation laid down a rule for their interpretation in the canon which ordered that no doctrine should be taught "to be religiously held and believed of the people unless it were in agreement with the teaching of the Old and New Testament and had been gathered by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops out of that teaching." This was, in effect, the knell of Calvinism within the Church, and though it might flourish for a while under the patronage of Whitgift of Canterbury and Sandys of York, its tenets were too plainly at variance with the now official formularies of the Church to be able to pose for long as orthodoxy. The distinction felt between the formal teaching of the Church and the utterances of individual teachers is expressed in the words used by Mark Antony de Dominis, at one time Archbishop of Spalato, who forsook for a time the communion of the Holy See and joined that of the Church of England. On the eve of leaving this country and returning to the Roman allegiance in the early days of the year 1621, he said of the doctrines of the Church of England: "Touching some of these I did fully assent and adhere unto this Church as not dissenting from the Catholic Church. But touching some others, I did dissent, yet rather from some private men and teachers of

the Church of England than from the Church of England itself. As, namely, about free will and the efficacy of grace and predestination and justification and necessity of works and merits and such like. Yet I profess that in these points I never dissented from the articles of the Church of England, because I hold them all, understood in a right sense, to be true, or at least profitable, and none of them heretical."¹

What had the Church of England laid down in the Articles? Justification itself she did not define beyond what had been said in the *King's Book*; she refused to bind the faithful to the "sense in which it is declared in the Homily of Justification," and, moreover, referred in Article XXXV to the "godly and wholesome doctrine" of the Second Book of Homilies, of which the description of the process of justification is in entire accord with that of Trent. Again, as to the formal cause of justification the Church defined nothing explicitly, though by changing the title of Article XVI to *Of Sin after Baptism*² she implicitly concurred in the Tridentine repudiation of the teaching of Peter Lombard that the formal cause of justification is the Holy Ghost. The phrase "by faith only" in the Article of Justification is, indeed, ambiguous. *Sola fide* was the watchword of the Protestants and was interpreted by them as a sense of confidence, sharply contrasted with works, which, they taught, were of no avail in effecting or promoting the justification of the sinner. We have already seen that the Article makes no such contrast, nor does the doctrine of the Homilies give any ground for holding that works are of no avail, or that faith can ever exist separately from hope and charity. The following passage from Hooker's *Sermon on Justification* will show how the

¹ Newland, *Life of Antonio de Dominis*, p. 207.

² The Article of 1553 had been entitled *Of Sin against the Holy Ghost*.

Article was subsequently interpreted; his account of the *actus justificationis* is strongly tinged with Lutheranism, but it will be evident how far removed he is from Lutheran doctrine in his view of the relation between faith and works: "Which thing being attentively marked, sheweth plainly how the faith of true believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of sanctification, and yet unto justification necessary; how faith is perfected by good works, and yet no work of ours good without faith; finally, how our fathers might hold, We are justified by faith alone, and yet hold truly that without good works we are not justified."¹ In the Appendix to Book V of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* he writes: "To the imputation of Christ's death for remission of sins, we teach faith alone necessary; wherein it is not our meaning to separate thereby faith from any other quality or duty which God requireth to be matched therewith, but from faith to seclude in justification the fellowship of worth through precedent works as the Apostle St Paul doth."² And he draws a clear distinction between the first and second justification: "Now between the grace of this first justification and the glory of the world to come, whereof we are not capable unless the rest of our lives be qualified with the righteousness of a second justification consisting in good works, therefore as St Paul doth dispute for faith without works to the first, so St James to the second justification is urgent for works with faith."³ It appears, then, that by the phrase "faith only" the Church seeks to emphasize the initial part played by faith in the justification of the individual, just as Trent spoke of faith as the

¹ *Works*, ed. Keble, 1888, vol. iii, p. 508.

² *Id.*, vol. ii, p. 553; cf. the words of the General of the Augustinians at Trent, p. 16 above.

³ *Id.*

“beginning of man’s salvation”; this agrees with the teaching of the Fathers already quoted, and does not exclude the part played by works in man’s final justification.¹ It is simply asserted that faith is the only entirely indispensable condition on man’s part disposing him to receive the first justification.

¹ Cf. Stapleton, *op. cit.*, l. viii, c. 35.

Price 1s.

PHOTOMOUNT
PAMPHLET BINDER

Manufactured by
GAYLORD BROS. Inc.
Syracuse, N. Y.
Stockton, Calif.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



23 937 300

BT 764
R 33

1695065
SWIFT HALL LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



23 937 300

Y OF CHICAGO



937 300